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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlxwaxwaknimdn-a*, another is *Łe'ye*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

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"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

[688]
[183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 693 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a ceremonial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way [688] [575] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner. [428] [411] One of these men, who lived at *Ăsän·ăn·i*, always used a stone club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the [754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ăsän·ăn·i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If, [684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely [682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had [761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ăsän·ăn·i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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was being feared and hated by all. Yet his prerogative was so strong that he could not cease to act. He found by chance a cave near the top of precipitous Mount *Nusimusta*, not far from his village, and told everyone that he would die there, where no one would ever be able to spit or tread upon his grave. One autumn, when an old man, he disappeared, and although search parties scoured the woods for him, they were unsuccessful. Next spring, some young men visited the cave in which they found his badly decomposed corpse; the warrior had kept his promise.

The profession of warrior carries with it prohibitions and requirements other than with regard to killing. Such men are thought always to be so wild and restless that they cannot sleep at night, but prowl around the village watching for possible foes. In actual fact, warriors seldom sleep quietly throughout the night. They have one restriction of a social nature, in that they can never be confined in the back-room as initiates into the *sisaok* society. Consequently, no *tutwinam* ever comes to one of them. When one gives a potlatch, a rather boastful song is sung for him as he remains in the central part of the house. What affiliation this brings him with the *sisaok* society is obscure.

It is difficult to say to what extent a professional warrior believes in his own powers, since there is, and must always have been, great individual variation. The white man finds it difficult to understand the psychology of a man who considers himself bound to kill on request, simply because presents have been distributed to make him a warrior. It must be remembered that this is one of the most pervasive features of Bella Coola life; functions of all kinds depend upon validated prerogatives, and there is no doubt that a man who has one of this kind is actually influenced to such an extent that he begins to believe in his own prowess. It was unusual for a warrior to exercise his powers as freely as did the *Äsän·än·i* man, but the Bella Coola have no difficulty in explaining this:—his prerogative had been confirmed with more lavish expenditure

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than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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Fragment of a Song Used for Sinxälotla, a Man of Salmon House(a)

Wikalqwlk!aix	*wamm̓*
Whence came those(*b*)	who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9e, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for Łäloxman·ä of Kimsquit(a)

Xatiqwoiye	*xatiqwoiye*	*kunłai*
I am happy at seeing you(*b*),	I am happy at seeing you,	good-bye(*c*).

No more of this song is remembered.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Presumably refers to the dancer's *tutwinam*, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitlobe woman. [424]
(*c*) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

Song(a) Used for Laxaiyaa·k'(b) of Kimsquit(c)

A Känunulnuxämdimutdjmalxan	*Q̓o'owai(d)*
I make two of myself(*e*),	Raven(*f*),

skäłundjakaiyaxlnndja	*Q̓o'owai*
I make a huge whale of myself,	Raven,

altsxdjänuxudax	*Känixnikdinitsmalxn*	*skäłundjakaiyaxlnndja*
at the place of lucky finds (*g*).	People will dismember me,	I make a huge whale of myself(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Känuilmlgxitsk^{w}	*dets·ultatłaix*	*skäxaay*^{w} *stulsdai*
I stand upon	my point(*i*);	I cry out loudly(*j*)

distälnmgxdai
with respect to my position as chief.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Kästixwäkapk'^{a}	*Skilaiyaodjudap*	*Olaqwiamsimalx*	*waxulakaslx*
Go yourselves!	Pick out what you want!	My house	is open(*k*).

(*a*) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his [701] [575] [424]

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*533 [701] [575] [424] [177]

prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent initiation as a *sisaok*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of the *sisaok* society is obscure.

(*b*) *Laxaiyao·k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants. One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Qowi* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (*g*) The home of the first *Laxaiyao·k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) *A promontory owned by the first Laxaiyao·k'.*

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tla Songs

The tunes of *xe·tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of ceremonials in which they were used, few *xe·tla* songs are now remembered. [796]

Xe·tla Song Used by Sinugut of Kimsquit(*a*)

[727]

A *Alinaywas*	*Ahlxwa'alpdai*	*Di stalaimydai*	*dänuilmik*
Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(*b*)

di yälxatsa'aikdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Alaiqwalnxgaasta*	*da'änänuskxilsdax*	*aiyatätgämatlalsdax*
He did so,	my pattern(*c*),	whence I came(*d*);

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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Ḳomqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Ätquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[3] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was decided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[3] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411]
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- [177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

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714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[3] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
●701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible
[642] for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe·tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[3] Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

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Tsimshian NE15
Bella bella NE5

B 648 721 T 622 648 721 celebrated *Tcûbsa* was he who held sway between 1850 and 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions, of tremendous physical strength, and endowed with force of character and initiative as well. Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suffered even more than before; there were few direct assaults, but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lurking in the vicinity, ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or *Täl·io*. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

B Bb 648 721 One winter, about the middle of the last century,[4] the Kimsquit determined to take the offensive in May. This plan was discussed both at Bella Coola and *Täl·io*; at *Ḳomḳo·ts* the leading chief, *Nusmăs·a*, gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among others who took part in the conference was a certain *Lo·ḳwa·t*, an influential Bella Bella chief who chanced to be visiting relatives in *Ḳomḳo·ts* at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be *Ḳoilnalos*, on Labouchere Channel.

B [701] During the spring those who planned to take part in the expedition busied themselves with their preparations. No one knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone used his own discretion whether or not to join it; some did so to avenge injuries to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas others declined to repay their wrongs. At last the appointed date came round, and some fifty canoes, each containing twenty to thirty men, gathered at the appointed place.[5] Thence they set out and encamped for the first night at Scratch River, *Ḳeldjut*, near Bella Bella. *Lo·ḳwa·t* knew the time of meeting and the route that would be followed, so sent out two lads to hunt deer at the spot, though, not wishing to circulate news of the raiders, he did not tell them what they were likely to find. The two hunters stumbled upon the encampment without being observed, and hurried home to report what they had seen. *Lo·ḳwa·t* had intended to join the party, so he now set out in a small canoe with the two as paddlers, after warning them that they must say nothing at home of his movements. His war equipment consisted of a musket and two palette-shaped boards with small

B 648 [724]

Bb [713] [177]

[4] The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1922 said that his father was about five years of age at the time.
[5] The strength of the expedition was probably exaggerated.

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Bellabella NE5

divisions, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were novelties recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo·qwa·t* called out four times:

"*Nusmāt·a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo·qwa·t* leapt ashore, sent back his own canoe, and definitely joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nusmāt·a* one of the prized palette-shaped boards, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kimsquit chief likewise gave *Lo·qwa·t* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo·qwa·t*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo·qwa·t* suggested an immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo·qwa·t* massed the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *Waoyel·a*[8] near at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo·qwa·t* spoke fluently, saying that the *Waoyel·a* had mocked him in their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches at this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a *numitl* chief and warrior; no one dared to stand against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *Waoyel·a* were to be killed.

The flotilla continued and in the early dawn raided a small *Waoyel·a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo·qwa·t* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *Waoyel·a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but uncertain how to leave his followers.

With this in view, *Lo·qwa·t* suggested an attack on a China Hat settlement, adding that he knew where some of their frames[9] used in Cannibal dances were stored, and that the China Hat people were too arrogant

[8] Probably one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.
[9] Such as were covered with meat to represent human bodies.